1: Kroeber E-5 (1901) 1908
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ends of the main portion of the sling, and then looped on themselves through a slit near one end.

The bull-roarer and buzzer were both well known to the Gros Ventre, but seem to be only children's toys. They were both called nakaa"ta" ("making cold," a name given also to the thermometer), probably from the widespread Indian idea that the bull-roarer breeds wind. The buzzer was made of a foot-bone of a buffalo, with a sinew string on each side, by which it was twirled, and then drawn so as to hum. The Arapaho type of buzzer is the same. The Gros Ventre bull-roarer seems to differ from the Arapaho form. Fig. 20 shows one of two very similar models, both of wood. The small, well-marked head, the long taper and point, and the numerous small notches, mark a distinct form. The sinew string is of about the length of the stick handle.

WAR.

Men generally went to war on foot, carrying food and moccasins on their backs. While on the trip they did not boil meat, but roasted it. Scouts, called "wolves," were sent out ahead. When these returned, running in a zigzag course, and shouting, it was a sign that they had seen something. If they had seen lodges, they barked like wolves. While they came, the women in the party stood in a row and sang, having made a pile of buffalo-chips. The "wolves" stopped a short distance away, and the leader of the party went to them. They came with him back to the pile of buffalo-chips, where he stopped, and, facing the party, recounted coups. After this, one of the scouts came before them and reported what he had seen. Upon this, all rushed at the pile of buffalo-chips, and kicked them about. If the enemy were near, they would now take off their heavier clothing, such as their robes, and dress and paint for war.

On returning to their camp victorious, the party approached stealthily, and made a charge upon it, often shooting; and sometimes the people in the tents jumped up out of their sleep in the early morning, thinking they had been attacked. The man who had killed an enemy, the one who had struck him first (whether dead or alive), and the one who had taken his gun, were held in about the same esteem. After the return to camp, a dance was made. Drums were beaten; and the women, who were standing in a curved row, danced in a circle toward the men, who stood in a row, and back again. The women carried the new scalps on sticks. If an enemy were killed near the home camp, his feet and hands might be cut off and carried on sticks, like the scalps. During this dance the man who first

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counted coup on the enemy filled a pipe, and held it for the rest of the party to smoke as they stood in a row. The returning war-party, if successful, always painted black, but if a member of their own party had been killed, they returned without rejoicing; unless sometimes, when the loss of the enemy had been greater than their own, and a relative of the dead was in the party, he might say, "One of the enemy pays for my relative. On account of the others, let us enjoy ourselves." Then the party would paint black, and celebrate. Wounds received by members of the war-party would not prevent celebration, unless, of course, they resulted fatally; and they were always regarded as an honor.

Some war-parties started off publicly in broad daylight, having made it known that they were going; and any one who wished joined. Sometimes, perhaps, two men would agree to go, and invited such others to accompany them as they wished. Women not infrequently went with the war-parties. If a man was killed in war, his relatives, especially his parents, mourned for him. His father might go to the tent of a renowned warrior, and cry until this man became angry and announced a day for a party to start out to obtain revenge. On the day set, the party left publicly, usually on horseback.

A man's supernatural war paraphernalia are shown in Figs. 27, 28, and 29. They were obtained from a middle-aged man who had them from his grandfather, who first dreamed of the magpie and the other animals connected with the paraphernalia, and made the objects. A cylindrical raw-hide case (Fig. 27), such as is found used for holding feathers and medicine among most Plains tribes, is painted with a yellow, green, and blue design resembling parfleche designs. These colors represent the various colors of the birds that were dreamed of by the original owner, and whose feathers are kept in the case. The case is called the "house" of these objects. A wing-bone is attached to the outside of the case to make another whistle from in case of loss of the finished whistle included in the outfit. A small bag containing a necklace is kept in the case. The bag (Fig. 28, *a*) is ornamented with bead-work representing a frog (kaka"). This frog was part of the original owner's dream. The necklace (Fig. 28, *b*) has various wasibi ("medicine-roots") on it. These are said to be neither eaten nor otherwise used, except as they are worn on the necklace. The bone whistle (Fig. 28, *c*) alluded to is attached to a necklace of otter-skin. It is blown during the fighting to prevent injury. A magpie's skin (Fig. 28, *d*) and the skin of a smaller bird (Fig. 29, *a*) are also contained in the case. The white magpie-feathers are dyed yellow. The two skins are worn at the back of the head, and prevent the wearer being injured even in a hand-to-hand fight. A head-dress of ten magpie-feathers and of a white plume on red-painted

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taboo. This was the case regarding the children of "inseparable friends," but whether or not it was so regarding the children of all members of the company, mutual hospitality was frequently extended among the members—"a man would most often invite the members of his age group." Further, it was not unusual for members of the same company to go hunting and on raiding and revenge parties together. If a young man were killed at war and his body brought home, the members of his company were said to have assembled and danced around his bier, sometimes sobbing and crying as they danced.

As members of either one or other of the two larger societies they joined with members of other companies, in the Stars and Wolf-men respectively, to perform their proper social dance and to participate in activities such as gambling, horse-racing, "bragging contests," and so on, wherein they could compete with members of the opposite moiety. An individual seemingly tended to choose his serious enemy-friends from among those of the rival organization and thus is explained the spirit of competition which Kroeber notes between the Stars and "other companies."[13]

The Societies

The Stars and Wolf-men societies were organized along identical lines and were distinguished from each other only in details of procedure.

Each society included approximately half the total number of able-bodied warriors in the tribe. They each had two renowned men as leaders—two Star leaders of relatively recent times having been Comes A-flying and Crazy Bull; two Wolf-men leaders, Skinner and Strikes On Top. The leaders remained mounted when the others of the society were marching on foot in preparation for their dance, and carried whips at the dance as insignia. These men were supposed to have been outstanding warriors who had while mounted actually counted coup against the enemy. Two members of the last-admitted company served as *atsa'an* (waiters, messengers) at the dances, and each society had an announcer, presumably chosen from among the "old men" who had gone through the Law Enforcer Dance.

[13] Kroeber, 1908, p. 234.

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successfully hunted than antelope. While the finest clothing was made from deer, elk was preferred for some purposes such as moccasins and warm shirts and coats—it being more durable but not equally as flexible.

For winter wear, caps and mittens of beaver or otter were made for men and boys. Beaver skin served as a breech clout for the men in winter, although antelope was preferred for this purpose the rest of the year, unless cloth were available, since the latter was more comfortable than hide which chafed the skin so badly.

Ordinarily unornamented clothing was worn, but for special events, particularly when the whole tribe was together, everyone dressed in his best. Being well-dressed was as important to the Gros Ventres as being well-mounted on ceremonial and social occasions. The effect on both the eye and the ear was taken into account in the ornamentation. Dyed porcupine quill embroidery lent color, and mica—first heated, then powdered and rubbed over a robe—glistened beautifully. Polished deer-hoofs as edging for a robe or dangling from leggings or garters "made such a nice sound when one walked." This feeling both for color and sound was carried over when material from the whites was at hand, beadwork tending to supplant the quill embroidery and scraps of bright colored cloth and of metal serving as "dangles." [18]

Elk teeth, however, were said to be "the greatest decoration of the Gros Ventres." They were used principally for girls' and women's dresses. Not so long ago there was a man at Hays who wore a vest trimmed with elk teeth, and people would say to him: "You crazy thing, only women have that kind of decoration!" But he was unconventional and would retort: "Well, I dance, too, and I want to look nice." Everyone would laugh, but he persisted in wearing that vest. Human hair as fringe and on moccasins was proudly worn by men who had taken scalps.

Mink, otter, weasel, muskrat and kit-fox were all used as trimmings, and occasionally the whole pelt of mink, otter or muskrat was made into a bag, or tobacco pouch, or other small container. Feathers, especially eagle feathers, were highly prized, and red

[18] For the detailed comparative analysis of Decorative Art of the Gros Ventres and other plains tribes, see Kroeber, 1908, pp. 151–79.

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ready to tell you. First, here's the scalp of the Sioux you will kill tomorrow. . [This was one strand of hair wrapped around a piece of sage brush, symbolic of the scalp.] I've found a big Sioux camp on Beaver Creek (east of the Little Rocky Mountains). The Sioux are having a big Grass Dance and the one you are to kill tomorrow is having the most fun. He has a sword. You'll capture that sword when you kill him. Don't be afraid. There will be no Gros Ventres killed, but two of you don't look good to me.' The Gros Ventres asked that he name the two, but he refused, saying: 'Just don't be afraid. Go ahead to the place where the Sioux are and attack them. Choose what kind of weather you want to make your escape after the fight, and I'll see that the weather will be that way.' They failed to make a choice, but the spirit said: 'Take a look at the sun every once in a while tomorrow. There will be all kinds of sundogs tomorrow, changing every little while. If they appear, you'll know that I have told the truth.'

"The next morning they decided that only those with good horses should cross the Missouri and attack the Sioux. They approached the camp where the Sioux had spent the night. The Sioux had failed to extinguish their former camp fires, and the embers were blown into flame and the fire was extending toward their new camp. The Sioux decided to fight the prairie fire, laying down their arms, not realizing the Gros Ventres were watching them. The Gros Ventres then attacked. The Sioux were in utter confusion and ran, all of them except a man with a sword who made a stand. Two Gros Ventres, Comes A-Flying and Owl Old Man, tried to ride over this Sioux who, however, sidestepped them and struck both their horses with his sword; meanwhile the Gros Ventres struck the Sioux with their whips, thus counting coups. A third Gros Ventre, Crazy Bear, however, killed him, took his scalp and claimed his sword. Since they had gotten this one scalp—which was sufficient for them to celebrate with a victory dance,—they returned. They saw the sundogs changing as the spirit had foretold. In order to evade the pursuit by the Sioux, they called on the man, whose ghost-helper had given the information, to change the weather. The man sang a song, using his robe as a cover to enclose himself, and said he

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726 wanted a downpour of rain. At once a cloud appeared and in no
787 time it was a big black storm cloud. Then there was a wind and
769 a very heavy storm and thus the Gros Ventres got safely back to camp. The only loss on this occasion was that of two fine horses, one played out and the other foundered from drinking when overheated."

Return of the War Party

●727 After a successful encounter with the enemy, the homecoming was a joyful one, provided no Gros Ventre lives had been lost. As they approached the camp, appropriate songs were said to have been sung by the victorious party. If, for instance, they had stolen horses there was one type of song. On the other hand
[302] when scalps had been taken, they sang other kinds of songs and painted themselves with charcoal. Incidentally, the Gros Ventres had a saying that "women and children do not make good charcoal." Women and children should be captured but not killed and scalped.[16]

When the victorious party arrived, they circled the outside of the encampment before entering. "Then the party broke, each member surrounded by his womenfolk who crowded around, kissing him and taking the scalps or other trophies which had been won. After a reasonable interval, the crier called all to come to
[302] the center of the circle and dance. Men and women alike blackened their faces with charcoal, and the women, carrying scalps attached to poles, or weapons captured from the enemy, danced as innumerable victory songs were sung. Only members of the war party were allowed to join with the women in dancing. Many husbands, who had to stand on the sidelines, were jealous of the brave warriors at a time like this."

727 Most of the songs sung during the victory celebration had
533 words which referred to encounters wherein the Gros Ventres had been successful. New words were often made up to commemorate a particular incident. One of these songs had the following words: "Where are you going? I've been here all the

[567] [16] Cocking, p. 112, mentions in 1772 that the Gros Ventres adopted "slaves" of both sexes into families who had lost their children either by war or sickness.

2: Flannery E-5 (1940-1948) 1953
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time, thou with grey hair." [17] It refers to a particular Crow who had long grey braids. This man had captured some Gros Ventre women who were out picking berries and had returned to the Crow without having killed a man or stolen horses. His fellow-tribesmen taunted him with his "weakness" and in order to vindicate his honor he again sought out the Gros Ventres and was killed by them. The song was composed by the husband of one of the captured Gros Ventre women.

Another song, classed as a victory song, was composed by an old man whose faith in a younger man was justified. The young man had had a supernatural vision and, although he was as yet untried, he successfully led a war party.[18] Still another song was composed on the occasion on which a Piegan, who had survived a partial scalping, was killed by the Gros Ventres.[19]

Even though the party might have succeeded in taking scalps, if any of their number had been killed, the return was a sad one. Whenever feasible they brought back the bodies of the slain from the field of battle. In any case, there was no circling of the camp nor singing. Nor was there a victory dance unless close relatives of the deceased warriors gave permission. An example to illustrate the procedure may be taken from the description of a serious encounter between the Gros Ventres and Sioux, known as the Battle of Black Butte which occurred in 1871 or 1872, upstream from the present site of Havre.[20] "There were approximately 30 lodges of Gros Ventres who were greatly outnumbered by the Sioux. Nevertheless, about 30 Sioux were killed and only one Gros Ventre lost his life. On the return of the party, the father of this one victim said: 'I give you charcoal. My son is lying on many.' So they were able to celebrate that victory in a big way." [21]

More often, however, when Gros Ventres were killed in battle, an outstanding relative of one of the deceased volunteered to or-

[17] Song recorded as No. 19.

[18] This was recorded as No. 22.

[19] Song recorded as No. 106. Other songs used at the victory dances were recorded as No. 117, No. 118, No. 119, No. 123, No. 124.

[20] His own part in this encounter is described by Black Wolf in Kroeber, 1908, pp. 203-04.

[21] A song recorded as No. 91 was said to have been composed to commemorate this occasion.

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727 ganize a revenge party. The Boy gave the following account of the circumstances under which one such party was announced and carried out. "The brother of Lame Bull's mother had been killed in war by the Piegan. This woman took it very hard because it 726 was her youngest brother of whom she was particularly fond. 787 None of her relatives had taken any action and she was out on the 727 hills mourning. While she was out there she fell asleep and an 'old man' appeared to her and said: 'If you make an effort, you will forget your grief. I will teach you a song that you will use when they dance at the victory celebration after your people have avenged his death. This song will be used when they bring back the scalps of the enemies who have killed your brother.' So she went home but didn't say anything about her experience for some time. Finally, however, she told her husband. He then decided to organize a war party to get revenge for his brother-in-law's death. He had a big following as he went against the Piegan. On the way, however, they came across some Blood Indians and killed five of them, which was considered as fulfilling his duty to bring backs scalps in retaliation. When the party returned, the woman of course joined in the victory dance and sang that song, which was then used many times after that when the Gros Ventres were successful."

726 If no prominent relative led the revenge party, the parents of a 727 man killed in war could request some noted chief to do so. In that case the one selected prayed for the success of the party himself and made a sweatlodge, inviting many old men who would likewise pray. The large number of offerings requisite for the occasion were supplied, however, by the man who had made the request. Should he not have the wherewithal to formally approach a prominent warrior, there was still the possibility that revenge might be volunteered by someone who pitied parents as they grieved for their son. This would afford an opportunity for some lesser man to legitimately set himself up as leader of a raiding party for the first time.

Status Through War-Deeds

554 Any action that involved risk of life at the hands of the enemy was counted as a war-deed. Raiding for horses, especially for

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553 father had given him his own name, "Bear Teeth"; and in that of Ragged Robe's wife who gave her name to a little girl. In this latter case, at least, the woman continued using her own name.

Except in those cases where the name of a relative is given, as is seemingly the rule nowadays, the name must have some specific relation to either the war deeds or the medicine powers of the namer. Singer remarked that one time, when she had been very lucky in locating some weapons abandoned by the enemy, she was looking forward very much to naming a little relative "Finder" in connection with this exploit. Unfortunately, however, the child's father had already had a name for her so Singer was disappointed. A Pipe-Keeper, too, might name a child from something connected with the Pipe. Rufus Warrior, for instance, was named from the rawhide with which the Flat Pipe is wrapped; another child was called "Red Woman" from the fact that the wife of the Flat Pipe Keeper was always painted red,—even her hair. Al Chandler knows of two people his grandfather had named from objects in the Feather Pipe bundle.

The more formal the occasion, the more expensive the naming was for the family involved. If, for instance, advantage was taken of a public ceremony, not only was the one who gave the name recompensed by a valuable gift, such as a horse, but many other gifts would be given to various persons in the audience in order to honor the recipient of the name and to give prestige to his family. The expense was particularly heavy when a name was publicly bestowed upon an adult in recognition of bravery at war.[11]

431 727 554

551 Nearly everyone had a nickname. One of the most common was, and is, simply "Girl" or "Boy." Such a nickname often was acquired in early childhood because the name which had been bestowed was not liked,—and those names given through medicine often fell in that category. Coming Daylight said that she had not cared for the name given by a medicine man to her first-born son, so she had called him "Boy." The child died very young, and she now wonders if he would have lived longer had they used his real name. Nicknames may be acquired at any time of life and sometimes they are far from complimentary, especially those bestowed later in life by enemy-friends. If the nickname "takes" there is

[11] Cf. Chapter 5, p. 101.

2: Flannery E-5 (1940-1948) 1953
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woman! You are leaving an old woman!' Finally our mother couldn't stand it any longer and, although she was not responsible for that old woman, she turned back and got the old woman to camp by letting her hang onto the travois. But we didn't have to carry her because she died shortly after that." 888

Takes The Bow mentioned that in the dim past, rather than to go off and leave an aged relative, the Gros Ventres used to ask some outstanding warrior to kill this old person—a father, or mother, or grandparent. This was done in order to get those who were suffering "out of their misery." The relative who took this responsibility would authorize the killer to count coup on the one whom he killed and thus score another mark of distinction for his record.[8] Other Gros Ventres were of the opinion that this type of "mercy killing" was adopted from the Blackfoot and that it was rarely carried out by the Gros Ventres, although admittedly abandonment of the aged to starvation was sometimes forced upon them.

Death

The Gros Ventres valued life highly and prayed for long lives, but when a person knew he was about to die, it was said that he resigned himself and appreciated the efforts on the part of others to ease his last moments. There was a desire to die surrounded by one's family and friends who would see to it that the proper last steps were taken. In view of this, if a man were wounded in an encounter with the enemy, every effort would be made by his companions—even at great personal risk—to get him back to his family before he would die. 761 763 [727]

When all hope for life had been abandoned, the dying person was dressed in the best clothes available, his hair combed, and his face painted "as though he were going to a party." Frequently last minute instructions would be given by the dying concerning his preference as to method of final disposal. He might also include advice to his survivors, and make occasional bequests of 763

[8] It is interesting to note in this connection that Cocking, 1772, p. 112, writes of the Gros Ventres: "They torture all the aged of both sexes in a most shocking and deliberate manner." The context is not clear, however, and he may have been referring to treatment of prisoners of war.

3: Cooper E-5 (1938-1940) 1957
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such an official keeper and was merely held by someone for the time being.

From data supplied mostly by The Boy and Coming Daylight, it is possible to trace the fortunes of the Flat Pipe during the last hundred years. Somewhere about 1850 the Flat Pipe keeper was Deer, who was succeeded by "Bear-going-along-side-of-hill," from whom it was ceremonially transferred about 1860-65 to The Boy's father, Lame Bull. One or two of Lame Bull's successors died before completing the customary four-year term, and Lame Bull took the Pipe back. About 1873-75 it was ritually transferred to Crow Bull, Coming Daylight's mother's brother and a good friend of Lame Bull, as a result of a vow made by Crow Bull to take the keepership if the wife, who had been captured by the Piegan, should get back safely to him, which she did.

Coming Daylight gave the story as follows:

"In the 1869 battle between the Gros Ventres and the Piegan, a wife of my uncle, Crow Bull, was captured by the Piegan. After some time the man who captured her and who had taken her as wife saw her crying and asked her: 'Why are you crying?' She replied: 'I am lonesome for my children.' She had borne no children during her stay with the Piegan. So he told her: 'All right. I am a man, a real chief. I will let you go back to your children. But it would be dangerous for you to go on horseback. You must walk.'

"So on the sly he fixed up a big traveling dog to pack food and she made moccasins for the journey. He told her which way to go, this is, by way of Fort Benton where there were some Piegan and Gros Ventre women married to whites. He also told her she must travel by night lest the Piegan capture her again, and he accompanied her quite a way on her journey.

"After two days on the road, traveling by night and hiding in the day, she reached Fort Benton safely just at daybreak on the third. When she got there she did not know where to go. She saw someone emptying water, who looked like an Indian woman, so she went up to her. The woman said: 'Oh, where did you come from?' 'I came from the Piegan,' she replied, 'my Piegan husband there let me go.' The woman said: 'After you have eaten I will

3: Cooper E-5 (1938-1940) 1957
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793 Horse Capture, the brother of Thick and the Assiniboine woman, Coming Day, who was still living—who had married Horse Capture and in her latter days had come to realize her duties toward the Pipe,—were ritually inaugurated as Pipe keeper and Pipe woman by Lame Bull. Then Coming Day died, as did also in 1908 Lame Bull, and Horse Capture was left alone with the Pipe. He married again and The Boy's mother, who had earlier been Pipe woman, instructed Horse Capture's second wife in her ritual duties. Horse Capture was the last ritual keeper of the Pipe. When Horse Capture died, his widow took the Pipe over. Thick wanted to bury the Pipe with Horse Capture, but was dissuaded from doing so, and agreed to keep it. Later Horse Capture's widow, who lived successively with Thick's family, the Birdtail family, and The Boy's family, willed the Pipe to The Boy, to dispose of it as he saw fit. On her death, The Boy wanted to take it over but his wife as a Catholic objected. The Boy finally got [795] her consent on the ground that "we are both Catholics; I want to keep the Pipe as a keepsake, not to pray to as it used to be prayed to," but it was arranged that the Pipe would remain in the keeping of Thick (married to The Boy's sister) until The Boy and his wife were ready to take it.

[755] The last ritual opening of the Pipe bundle occurred in 1937 as a prayer for cure, when Joe Assiniboine's small son was affected with bad sores on his face. The rite was only partially and negligently carried out at the time. The final formal uncovering of the Pipe took place on February 6, 1946, after the return of [727] the Gros Ventre members of the armed forces from World War II. On this occasion the full rite, as far as recalled, was enacted, and the Pipe and Pipe bundle given a thorough cleaning and renovating. The bundle with the Pipe is now (1955) carefully kept at The Boy's ranch at Lodge Pole.

The elective system rather than the voluntary vow was the more common one. Under this system, where the actual keeper decided to give up and transfer the Flat Pipe, he would confidentially summon the surviving ex-keepers and ex-co-keepers (not the other wives) of both the Flat and Feathered Pipes to come secretly without a word to anybody, to meet at his lodge,

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horse and started off but at the end of the rope was stopped and thrown. Fur Moccasin killed and scalped him then and there. Then the Gros Ventres took after the other four Piegan. The second Piegan was killed and his horse captured by the young warrior who had promised a horse to the Flat Pipe. The other three Piegan were also killed. The Gros Ventre suffered no casualties in the fight.

When the battle was over, Fur Moccasin turned over the Piegan scalp to Lame Bull: "Here's the scalp which I promised for the Flat Pipe." The other young warrior who had promised the horse likewise turned it over: "Here's the horse which I promised for the Flat Pipe."

Some time after this fight, peace was made between the Gros Ventres and the Piegan, and the Gros Ventres learned the Piegan side of the incident. The Piegan (or Blood) had planned to hold a Sun Dance. So they selected four men to go out and kill a bull buffalo for the dance. One old man of his own volition went along in order to get some of the internal organs for himself. After the five had set out, the Piegan waited in vain all the next day till nightfall for them to return and finally concluded that they must have met with misfortune. The next morning the Piegan set out in the direction in which the five had gone and, judging by the actions of carrion crows and buzzards, discovered the five corpses. The Gros Ventres by this time were a long way off. The Sun Dance was given up. The four younger Piegan killed were noted men.

The Piegan scalp was tied to the outside of the Flat Pipe bundle. The donor, Fur Moccasin, by giving the scalp, became an enemy-friend of the Flat Pipe, which role gave him the right to go pretty far in taunting and saying things about it, as was the wont between enemy-friends.[8] But only he, and no one else could take such liberties.

The scalp remained attached to the outside of the bundle. The Boy, who knew this, always felt that this was not right, because the bundle had great religious significance whereas the scalp was something of an entirely different order and did not belong with

[8] For details on enemy-friends, see Flannery, 1953, pp. 102-06.

3: Cooper E-5 (1938-1940) 1957
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self was practically committing suicide, so in one sense he meant himself. But in another, he meant that the case of the others, or many of them, was hopeless. He was telling them that if they did not run they would not escape home, but that even if they did run he was doubtful if they would make home safely. They saw and heard him, and a few escaped and survived, but many, including Little Weasel himself, were killed. When the survivors got back to camp they told what had happened.

"Little Weasel, himself unmarried, had been engaged at the time in a love affair with a certain young married woman, the most beautiful in the tribe, and her husband knew about it. After the survivors returned, her husband said to her: 'I knew all about your affair with that young man but I did not scold or punish you. Now you should do what I tell you. You can mourn and cry for your lover, but do not do anything else. Think of our little boy (then four years old).' After saying this, he left their lodge to go hear details of the news of the battle.

"After he had left, his wife put on her best clothes, and combed her hair, and fixed herself up. Then taking with her a stout tough rope of sinew she went to the brow of a cliff where two trees stood, one leaning over the brink. She fastened one end of the rope around her neck and tied the other end to the leaning tree. Then she sang the same song her lover had sung around the mound, and with the same words. After finishing the song, she rattled her tongue and yelled as a woman used to do when celebrating the first coup her son had made.

"All the people, including her husband, ran out and he pleaded with her, but she did not listen to him. 'So sang,' she said, 'Little Weasel,' and rattling her tongue she jumped down, her head going one way and her body another."

According to The Boy, "the climax of the last important phase of the Kit-fox Dance came when the dancers paid their ceremonial grandfathers, and they paid them well, with many horses, etc." "On one occasion," he added, "one young Kit-fox Dancer did not have anything to give, and it just so happened that all his relatives were poor and did not come to his rescue. Therefore he did not pay his grandfather anything, and he was terribly embarrassed and

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787 776 539 Crow with the blue coat you will kill all the Crows and get your horses back.' The Gros Ventres asked the ghost helper which two of their party would be wounded, but were not told by the ghost helper. If they had been told they would not have let these two go into battle.

"By the time they were through with the spirit it was near daylight. So they decided not to go to sleep but to wait up the rest of the night. [Here followed a long detailed description of the battle with the Crows beginning around daylight.] The Crow with the blue coat escaped. Of the sixty Crows in all, forty were killed. No Gros Ventres were killed, but two were wounded—two members of my own [The Boy's] clan. While the party was still at the war camp, some distance from the main camp, the ghost helper came and said: 'I came to hear the news. Did you kill the man with the blue coat?' They answered: 'No.' The ghost helper said: 'It is your own fault. If you had, you would have killed all the Crows. But anyhow you did well and have done yourselves credit. I am going to teach [727] you a victory song so you can sing it when you get back to camp.' So he taught them this victory song[2] and they learned it and he said to them: 'Well, my children, I am going home. When I get back to my place of abode I will celebrate that victory too. I will give you charcoal [it was the custom for returning victors to paint themselves black] and I'll bring charcoal to my own land and celebrate.'

"The foregoing incident happened in the time of my [The Boy's] grandfather, Crow Moccasin."

Narrative 2

The story which here follows was also told by The Boy.

"The Gros Ventres were camped east of (the site of) Lewistown (south of the Missouri River). A party of Gros Ventre warriors left the camp to go on the warpath against the Sioux. One of this Gros Ventre party was known to have a ghost helper.

[2] This song as sung by The Boy was recorded in the field in 1940, together with about 120 other Gros Ventre songs, but I have not found it possible, as yet, to get any of the records transcribed for publication.

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and, each time he attempted to get to his knees, one of two women who had already reached the scene would strike him on the buttocks with the flat side of a hatchet, making an insulting remark, and both would laugh. Coming Daylight hesitated at some distance from where the other two were gloating over the fallen enemy. When one of them, Woman Chief by name, saw her she ran to her saying: "Why are you standing so far off?" She grabbed her by the arm and pushed a big club into her hand, saying: "He is still alive—you will do a great thing. *Ahe:ya'!*" Woman Chief forced Coming Daylight to strike him.

While both Woman Chief and Coming Daylight closely approximated the ideal for women as faithful wives and efficient workers who gave generously of their material goods to and on behalf of their relatives, they seemingly differed in temperament. Woman Chief was known as a very brave woman, and Coming Daylight was frank in admitting she would never have dreamed of doing the kinds of things for which Woman Chief was renowned. One of the latter's exploits, for example, was as follows. The Gros Ventres and Crow were allies in an encounter with the Piegan. The battle was in full force, but one Crow had withdrawn and was sitting motionless astride his horse at some distance from the melee. Woman Chief, who in contrast to most women was always well mounted, dashed up to the Crow, grabbed his wand from his hand, and rode pellmell into the thick of the battle, counting coups right and left. So brave was she considered in having really risked her life that she was accorded the distinction, most unusual for a woman, of being led around the camp circle with the victorious warriors. Furthermore, so many people came to sing in front of her lodge that she and her relatives, to show their appreciation of the honor, were forced to give away as much property as though she were a man. Judging on the basis of other biographical material, there can be no doubt that she gloried in her reputation and took every opportunity to enhance it. She was one to whom the more violent aspects of Gros Ventre culture were exceedingly congenial.

If we compare and contrast these two women we can say that insofar as the patterns of Dionysian configuration are the basis of the comparison, their behavior exhibits opposite extremes, the one going beyond the average in the direction of the configuration, the other running counter to and participating less than the average therein. Both might be termed deviant personalities in Honigman's sense of the term,[2] one overplaying and the other underplaying modal behavior in these selected patterns. Nevertheless, neither seems to have been a misfit insofar as each represents an extreme of socially accepted or sanctioned behavior within those patterns. If, for instance, Coming Daylight had been completely negative, and refused, say, to carry out at least the culturally defined minimum for mourning, had she, in addition to refusing to mutilate herself for the recovery of her ill relatives, neglected as an adult even the safe and less strenuous means to that end, she would have fallen without the pale, so to speak, and have been a misfit. If, at the opposite end of the scale, Woman Chief had gone further in the direction of masculinity, had she actually gone on raiding expeditions and herself stolen horses from the camp of the enemy, had she learned to shoot the bow and arrow or gun, or had she so much as adopted the vocabulary and/or pronunciation proper for males in the Gros Ventres language, she would have been carrying things too far. She, too, would have been dubbed a misfit.

The Catholic University of America,
Washington, D.C.